

**CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION IN LATIN AMERICA:
PREPARING FOR THE FUTURE**

A monograph developed under the auspices of the
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Felisa Tibbitts and Judith Torney-Purta

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Felisa Tibbitts, M.P.P., M.Ed.

Judith Torney-Purta, Ph.D.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This monograph was written under the auspices of the Education Unit of the Inter-American Development Bank. It presents examples of good practice and related research from programming in both Latin America and abroad, and provides a theoretical basis for this work. A special resource is the conceptual framework and early results from the first phase of the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement Educational Association (IEA) Civic Education Study.

The monograph synthesizes, illustrates and analyzes available approaches, in order to provide loan officers with a tool to use in designing and appraising programming. The monograph also contains “Questions to Ask”, suggested evaluation guidelines and an extensive bibliography.

Lessons Learned for Citizenship Education in Latin America

1. What Works in Overall Program Design?

- Clear goals need to be set for any citizenship education program, and include references to knowledge, skills and values. The development of the learner under the skillful guidance of the teacher should be presented as the central modality for learning.
- Central agencies should cooperate with district and local organizations, including governmental, non-governmental and religious organizations, in designing and implementing programs that are relevant and motivating for local populations. Many social justice organizations are suitable partners for such programming. This has been a useful model in civic education programs in a variety of countries (see chapters on Belgium and Canada in Torney-Purta, Schwille, and Amadeo, 1999).
- Any single or uniform approach in citizenship education should be avoided. A core set of outcomes for students that promote democratic culture in the classroom should be endorsed.
- In moving away from an “inputs-based” approach to education to one focusing on learner outcomes, achievement through evaluation and assessment techniques can be monitored. These need to be appropriate for the level of program implementation and the audience.
- The more vulnerable populations in rural and urban poor areas should be given careful attention. In these circumstances, citizenship education might be linked with other, high priority educational agendas, such as literacy, health education, and

community involvement. A recent evaluation of such programs in Latin America does exist and bears important lessons.

- In general, it is desirable to develop citizenship education programs that foster community involvement and, in fact, seek to address community development.
- It is essential to pay attention to the needs of teachers. Any citizenship education program that is to be successful in the long run will motivate “teachers as learners” and will give them valuable professional development tools. To this end, well-designed training experiences are essential, and those organized at the pre-service level are especially important.
- Ideally, central agencies will foster “networks of learning” among educators participating in national citizenship education programs. These networks could be informal study groups or more formal professional associations that meet and share information periodically.
- Overall educational achievement is related to the support of democratic values, political participation, voting behavior and being politically informed in society as a whole. Attention to the matters of guaranteeing quality education in Latin America, and reducing grade repetition and the school-leaving rate will also strengthen the development of democratic culture on the continent (and vice versa).

2. What Works in Terms of Program Content?

- Whenever possible, civics should be a required separate subject in the curriculum. In addition, themes and activities related to democracy, critical thinking, debate, conflict resolution, tolerance-building, moral development, and citizenship participation can be included in other subjects and extracurricular activities. In-depth project work is also a desirable vehicle for work in and outside the classroom.
- A variety of learning materials, including non-text sources, help to enhance opportunities for learning, and also better accommodate the diverse learning styles of pupils. The materials should “stimulate innovation, not condition practice” (McGinn, 1996, p.13).
- Central to the promotion of democratic culture in the classroom are discussion-oriented methodologies. These methodologies should be central to any teacher education program and be built explicitly into materials.
- In constructing models for these programs, resource designers should consult teachers. If there are sensitive political issues involved, it is best if these can be addressed, rather than ignored.
- An effective citizenship education program will recognize that the professional development of the teacher is a precondition for success. Teachers’ learning can be

incorporated through educational programs, materials, follow-up support, opportunities for advancement, and recognition.

3. What Does Not Work in Overall Program Design?

- A single civics textbook, especially one that is poorly adapted for some regions of the country, is unlikely to meet the diverse needs of the student and teacher populations. Textbook authorization policies on the parts of Ministries of Education may need to be examined in this regard.
- A citizenship education program cannot be constituted solely through the development of a textbook, even a good one. Goals for a national citizenship education program must extend beyond short-term materials development to include attention to the informal education environment and the implicit messages about society and power, which students see in the classroom and school.
- Short-term investments in citizenship education activities, regardless of design, may not result in sustainable programs.
- Failure to link up the citizenship education agenda and strategies with other reform agendas and innovations will limit program effectiveness and long-term sustainability.

4. What Does Not Work in Terms of Program Content?

- Traditional, lecture approaches to civic education, rote memorization, or highly abstract approaches are unlikely to develop attitudes and skills related to democratic culture. In fact, these approaches can be alienating to young people and work against their engagement in political affairs, and the civic education process.
- On the other hand, a pure focus on values or methodological innovation will not necessarily result in the desired learner outcomes. Values-oriented approaches and participatory methodologies should always be balanced with knowledge and understanding about concrete political processes and issues.
- Failure to link education with local community issues, or to allow for active engagement in a school or community approach, are unlikely to have maximal effectiveness.

If taken into consideration, these and other lessons incorporated into the monograph should lead to thoughtful design programs that have a genuine chance of success.

Suggested Next Steps

1. Examine research from Latin America and abroad in order to ascertain general directions or principles of good practice in the citizenship education field. This monograph is one step in this direction. Other useful resources are included in the Appendix to this report.
2. Commission an independent study to further examine work already in progress in several countries. This study would document:
 - agencies that are active
 - approaches being used
 - evidence of success
 - special conditions or needs for establishing a national or regional program.

One possible structure to begin this process would be the case study framing questions used by the IEA Civic Education Project (Torney-Purta, Schwille, and Amadeo, 1999).

3. Establish a process for developing a national concept concerning the role of education in a democratic society, and what should constitute education for democratic citizenship. Several reformers in the region (Cerreño and Pyle, 1996; OAS, 1998) have recommended this activity. This conceptualization process should involve all key stakeholders and would ideally be viewed as a non-partisan effort.

Within this process to develop a national conception of citizenship, one should bear in mind that “it is utterly essential for local power to have a role in reshaping school programs, school functions and teachers’ rights and responsibilities” (Britton, 1994, p. 114). Moreover, a national conception of citizenship should be flexible enough to incorporate local social, economic, political and cultural distinctions (Oliver, 1986).

4. Based on the results of the above steps, commission key agencies to implement model programs and then extend them more widely. Some of the questions and criteria included throughout the monograph may serve to structure a more in-depth analysis of the goals and qualifications of specific programs.

CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION IN LATIN AMERICA: PREPARING FOR THE FUTURE

“A nation’s continuing life becomes enmeshed in the personal lives of children”
--Robert Coles, The Political Life of Children, p. 61.

I. MAKING THE CASE FOR CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION

A quotation that has framed the organization of the Civic Education Study of the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement is also an appropriate starting place for this paper on citizenship in Latin America.

All societies have a continuing interest in the way their young people are prepared for citizenship and learn to take part in public affairs. In the 1990s, this has become a matter of increased importance not only in societies striving to establish or re-establish democratic government, but also in societies with continuous and long established democratic traditions” (Torney-Purta, Schwille, and Amadeo, 1999, p. 12).

Latin American policymakers have recently expressed renewed interest in the need to address citizenship education, recognizing that ‘basic education is a necessary but insufficient condition for strengthening democracy’ (Sola, 1996, p. 3). Studies, papers, task forces and conferences have been organized around issues related to education, democratic development and social justice. Supporters have included ECLAC (1995), Organization of American States, UNESCO, USAID/CIVITAS, IAD, as well as the Inter-American Development Bank.

[Schools are challenged to] teach a civic and historical understanding of the national and Latin American experience and the role that active (rather than passive) actors play in our society. They should prepare the student to participate fully in democratic life as a contributing member of the community and society (Stunard, 1997 as quoted in OAS, 1998, p. 14).

Despite this renewed interest, there is disappointing evidence concerning the disaffection and alienation of many people from politics. This is true across the world. It appears that if countries do not make a concerted effort to organize citizenship education for young people that directly promotes democratic development, then they should be prepared to live with adults who:

- do not have values that embrace democratic possibilities and other features of modern life
- have low trust in political institutions

- are disinterested in political processes
- are primarily influenced by the “traditionalism” of family life
- have a less optimistic national identity

A 1991 study of Latin American Constitutions in 12 countries explicitly mentioned the development of values such as morality and socio-political consciousness as among the main goals of the education system (Livavic, 1991, as quoted in Villegas-Reimers, 1994a, p. 3). Yet, a leading expert on citizenship education following an extensive view in Latin America contends that “education for democracy” is rarely focused upon. Sometimes the content is part of civics or social studies, but there is little focus on democratic processes. The emphasis is on knowing facts, but not on democratic skills or values (Villegas-Reimers, 1994b, p. 24). A key assumption of this monograph is that schooling is a “source of modern, secular citizenship” (Britton, 1994, p. 112), but its potential is not currently being realized in Latin America.

To take another perspective on the importance of citizenship education, the Head of the State and Civil Society Unit of the IDB, Edmundo Jarquin, contended at the 1996 Civitas Panamericano conference that the development of a market economy is dependent upon a democratic rule of law, and that state modernization turns on a strong civil society.

Let me be categorical about this: there will be no development without an efficient state and without a vigorous market, and there will be no efficient state and vigorous market without a strong civil society, and there will be no strong civil society without citizenship, and there is no citizenship without citizens, and there are no citizens where there is poverty, socio-economic exclusion, a restricted exercise of democratic liberties, an inability to participate and to exercise civic rights (Jarquin, 1996, p. 3).

This monograph was written under the auspices of Inter-American Development Bank. We hope that it will contribute to a genuine commitment and ability on the part of policymakers to pursue citizenship education programs on a national level. Reform needs “both political power to initiate the reform as well as the technical organization for the research and reform itself” (Albornoz, 1993, p. 67).

Table 1 on the following page presents some program definitions that can be found in the literature on citizenship education. In this paper, we concentrate on programming that is concerned with “education for democracy” which we define as “the education offered to individuals to teach and promote the development of knowledge, skills, and values necessary to live in a democratic society” (Villegas-Reimers, 1994b, p.9). Not all civic

TABLE 1. Definitions

Education for Democracy: refers to the education offered to individuals to teach and promote the development of knowledge, skills and values necessary to live in a democratic society.

Democratic education: refers to an educational system that has a democratic structure. Teachers and students work together, receive the same respect, and are equally involved in the processes of teaching and learning.

Democratization of education: refers to the opening of access to education for the whole population of the country.

Civic education and citizenship education: used interchangeably to refer to the teaching of specific knowledge, skills and/or values deemed necessary for life in society.

Moral education: refers to the teaching of values and attitudes in the classroom and the schools. These values can be democratic, social, individual and ethical and, in some cases, religious.

Human rights education: emphasizes the importance of respecting and valuing the rights that every person has as a human being and teaches about the rights and responsibilities of citizens.

(derived from Villegas-Reimers, 1994b, pp. 9-10)

and citizenship education programs address all three dimensions; alternatively, programs that do address democratic knowledge, skills and values are not necessarily called citizenship education programs. For this reason, we have infused throughout the monograph questions for further discussion. Such questions can be used to assess discrete components of programs that relate to the quality of citizenship education.

This citizenship report draws on internationally recognized models of good practice in informing potential programming in Latin American schools. In order to realize this overall intention, we are including conceptual models (Section II), examples of good programming (and related research) from the region and abroad (Section III), a summary of lessons learned (Section IV) and some starting points for policymakers in initiating citizenship education programming in their own countries (Section V). We know already that educational innovation has the best chance of success if planned change has a theoretical and empirical basis (Albornoz, 1993, p. 56). We hope that this monograph will contribute to this knowledge base for Latin America.

We use as a special resource the conceptual framework and early results from the first phase of the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement Educational Association (IEA) Civic Education Study. Initiated in 1994, this study is

coordinated by Judith Torney-Purta, one of the monograph authors. The IEA is a consortium with a history of doing cross-national surveys in education. The Civics Study has involved more than 30 countries, and the first, qualitative phase of the research has been completed (Torney-Purta, Schwille, and Amadeo, 1999). These results, along with other relevant data, will be incorporated into this presentation of citizenship education in Latin America.

Although we will be focusing on design features of the citizenship education environment, we recognize it is the individual that ultimately ascertains her or his place in society, and who carries into action particular ideas, values and behaviors about membership in local and national communities. Citizenship education contributes in a positive way to helping young people find meaningful places in their world, but it is one of many factors influencing the values and behaviors of citizenship. This is well stated by Berman:

The individual is constantly negotiating a sense of meaning, place, and commitment. Are there larger purposes that my actions can serve? Do I have a meaningful place in the social and political world? Are there values that I can make a commitment to and people I can stand with? Am I capable of contributing something useful to others and will they welcome and appreciate it? (Berman, 1997, p. 78)

To conclude this introductory section we would like to mention several of our working assumptions.

First, a country-by-country approach is essential. No single model for citizenship education or educational reform exists, nor would it be desirable. However, we do assume that theory and research can present us with some principles of good practice.

Second, there is a fairly extensive body of literature about general educational reform in Latin America and some material about civic education. We are indebted to these specialists and draw from this earlier work, but we are not attempting to duplicate it. Readers should consult the original sources, many of which are listed in the Appendix.

Third, although there are many socializing agencies influencing the values and attitudes of young people, we will focus primarily on the schools. However, we acknowledge other influences and will highlight some exemplary programming from the adult education sector (both because of the important role of parents in this process and because some may serve as models for program development).

Fourth, we consider citizenship education to be part of a set of broader questions concerning access and quality of education in Latin America (and of even larger economic and political matters). The issues common to both democratic education and these broader issues include:

- reaching children who have left their families to live on the streets of cities;
- the school-leaving rate of girls and children in rural areas;
- the quality of education in less serviced areas;
- access to materials;
- teacher preparation and training;
- the challenges of decentralization;
- local needs and issues (including those for minority groups); and
- organizational issues such as the relationship between the Ministry of Education and NGO sector.

We acknowledge that programming for quality citizenship education should not neglect these deeply challenging issues and their ethical dimension. Democratic education “not only incorporates the basic ideas about the legislation of democratic life but implies an involvement with democratic values: freedom, justice, solidarity, equality, equal quality for all” (Sola, 1996, p. 3).

II. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORKS INFORMING CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION

A. Democratic Development and Political Culture

The thesis is simple: democratic institutions both promote and are promoted by a democratic political culture (Dawisha, 1997, p. 52). Francis Fukuyama, who has written extensively on economic and democratic development, has identified four supportive pillars for democratic consolidation:

- a widespread view that democratic institutions and their market structures are legitimate;
- changes in related political and economic institutions;
- the emergence of a supportive civil society; and
- culture.

Aspects of culture include moral values, religion, civic mindedness, and particularistic historic traditions (Fukuyama, 1995, pp. 7-9). These cultural features are slow to change and some are part of the domain of schools.

A scholar specializing in gender and development similarly supports the role of norms in democratic development:

An updated notion of democracy must consider concepts, procedures, and attitudes that relate to everyday practices and acknowledge the connection between micro- and macro-democracies...Democratic nation-states supported by diffuse democratic norms at lower levels of society – such as the home, school, and workplace – will find it difficult to revert to authoritarian modes. (Stromquist, 1996a, pp. 423-4).

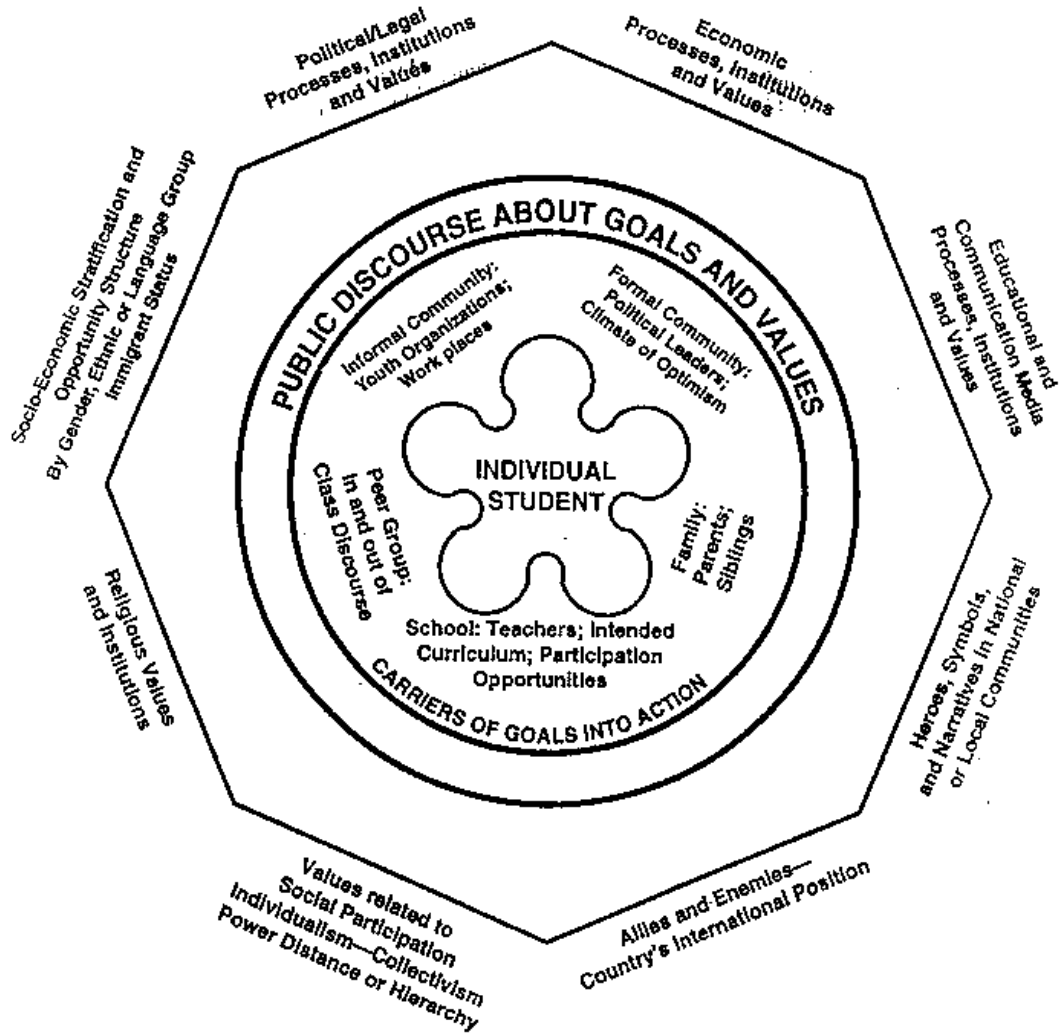
Perhaps the wisest perspective to take on this “chicken and egg” matter is that the elements of norms (democratic culture) and practices (democratic processes) within a country are interactive. Neither is sustainable or can be expanded without parallel support from the other. A corollary to this point is that democratic norms and practices be enjoyed at all social and economic levels of society.

B. Socializing Agents of Democratic Culture

Schools are not the sole, or even primary, agency for preparing young people for full membership in a nation. The political socialization model developed within the second IEA Civic Education Study takes into account the social and political ecology in which civics education is embedded, all of which influence the views and knowledge of young people.

Figure 1

MODEL FOR IEA CIVIC EDUCATION



FROM TORNEY PURTA, SCHWILLE,
AND AMADEO (1999)

Figure 1 illustrates the civic socialization model developed collaboratively by the international participants in the recent IEA study. The model captures both the individual and societal levels. At the center of this “octagon model” is the individual student. Moving outward from the center, one finds the primary socialization agents, including the school, family, peer group, social settings (such as the neighborhood, youth organizations, work places), and the broader but immediate community, including the church. The young person is primarily influenced by face-to-face contact with “carriers” such as the family, the school (teachers, intended curriculum and participation opportunities), and the peer group (functioning both within and outside of the school). The impact of television and other media is also influential. Bronfenbrenner would call most of these carriers part of the “microsystem” (Bronfenbrenner, as quoted by Torney-Purta, Schwille, Amadeo, 1999, p. 19)¹.

The concentric circles beyond these socializing agents include the public discourse about goals and values, which are in turn influenced by a multitude of factors related to institutions, processes and values in a variety of domains. This “macrosystem,” represented in the eight dimensions of the octagon, constrains the socialization processes at other levels.

Phase I of the 1994 IEA Civics Study, which focused on national case studies, confirmed that all of education, but especially civic education, is deeply embedded in a political and historical context unique to each country (and in some cases to particular groups or areas within each country). The study also revealed special challenges for civic education in countries undergoing significant political or cultural transitions.

In countries undergoing transition, cultural and educational processes can lag behind. Members of the older generation in these transitional societies -- including teachers, family members and others influencing the context for civic education -- often hold onto memories and beliefs from the past. Moreover,

[T]he school as an institution adapts slowly to transitions. This is particularly true when not only the content of education changes but new pedagogical methods are prescribed and new decentralized structures are being implemented, in most cases without sufficient economic resources for the retraining of educational personnel. Further, expectations about democratic teaching styles and power devolving to students within schools has touched deep cords of uncertainty among those who are responsible for civic education in developed as well as developing democracies (Torney-Purta, Schwille, Amadeo, 1999, p. 31).

Other political educators have noted these same trends. Whereas in developed democracies, concern is for political apathy, decreasing voter turnout, political cynicism and shrinking party affiliation, in developing democracies the focus is often on the foundation of the democratic institutions themselves (Ichilov, 1990).

¹ The model draws on the Bronfenbrenner’s 1988 views on the ecological approach to studying development, as well as the situated cognition theories of Lave and Wagner, 1991.

Material from one of the National Case Studies in the IEA project will help to make this distinction clearer. Colombia was the only country in Latin America able to raise the resources (financial and professional) to participate in the documentary study comprising Phase 1 of the IEA Civic Education Project. They joined the project early, persevered through a number of difficulties, and are continuing in Phase 2 to test nationally representative samples of 14-year-old students, to be completed in 1999.² Their case study chapter illustrates the challenges faced by civic educators in this region.

A new National Constitution was prepared in Colombia in 1991, raising new awareness of civic and political issues. A variety of social movements have opened social participation to women, children and youth, afro-Colombians, and indigenous populations. There has been considerable decentralization and new possibilities for citizens to defend their rights.

Despite these efforts, many anti-democratic elements persist, including deep social inequalities, corruption, the use of violence to solve conflicts, and crisis in the justice system. The State is seen to be quite weak in dealing with these issues. Universities and the better educated elite tend to distance themselves from primary and secondary education. Further, several national studies have shown conflictual atmospheres in many schools.

Enhanced civic education (or even education more broadly) is inadequate to solve these societal problems alone. The high degree of investment of educators in the country in making progress toward these goals, however, is indicated by the sub-title of the chapter, "Colombia: A Country with Difficulties and Hope." This raises a point which should be remembered throughout this monograph. Almost all the countries in Latin America face enormous gaps between aspirations and realities in the field of society and politics. Although their rhetoric is idealistic and commendable, most realize that there must be concrete and widespread action on many levels simultaneously. This is also noted by scholars writing about Argentina:

Focus is on practical interventions that could consolidate new political institutions through inculcation of normative values and development of skills of citizenship suitable for democratic processes (Chaffee, Morduchowicz and Galperin, 1998, p. 150).

Policymakers in transitional democracies are especially challenged to account for the social and political ecology of civics education as well as the lessons that can be drawn from research and other evidence of successful programming. The next section addresses some hypothetical notions of the "good citizen" and "good citizenship education" that might be highlighted within this deliberative process. Section III will

² The description about Colombia is summarized from the chapter by Rueda in the first book from the IEA Civic Education Project (in Torney-Purta, Schwille, and Amadeo, 1999).

focus on illustrative programming and research that appear to be most relevant for Latin America.

C. Democratic Development and Notions of the “Good Citizen”

There appears to be little dispute about the importance of schooling for affecting norms, values and practices concerning democracy. However, policymakers must still clarify what specific ideas of the “good citizen” they have in mind. In countries undergoing rapid political and economic change, there may be many, even conflicting, emerging ideas of political identity among important groups.

Concepts of citizenship are closely linked with ideas about democratic development. Those countries experiencing new constitutional regimes face many, sometimes unanswerable questions, regarding civic education approaches: Should civic education be oriented towards enduring social or political values, towards rights and principles that might guide future development, or instead move towards support for current institutions and stable political order? (Torney-Purta, Schwille, Amadeo, 1999, p.14)

A specialist on Latin American political culture lays down another layer of complexity when considering the macro-system environment. According to Lechner, pluralism did not develop historically in the region due to a holistic conception of society and order, in which dissent and conflict were viewed as disintegrative and hence intolerable.

Latin American democracy has always been permeated by a distrust of plurality, seen as improper questioning of national unity (Lechner, 1993, as quoted in Chaffee, Morduchowicz and Galperin, 1998, p. 151).

The idea of “democratic development” itself has a variety of interpretations. For some, democracy is gauged primarily in public, formal terms, for example through the creation of fair institutions, the ability of people to elect officials, and the existence of rules to promote the accountability of political authorities. Education for citizenship within this definition would largely be focused on knowledge and respect for political institutions, citizenship responsibilities (such as voting) and perhaps ways to contribute to the sustenance and reform of political and legal practices. This approach is consistent with the “contractual vision of citizenship,” rooted in liberal political philosophy, which understands political activity as primarily private and instrumental, as a means of furthering one’s private interests (Conover & Searing, 1994, p. 35).

For others, “democratic development” involves a much broader array of concerns, both institutional and cultural in perspective. John Dewey, Paulo Freire and others have promoted the idea of “democracy as a way of life,” emphasizing the personal relationships that constitute and undergird the political culture of a country. Freire’s idea of ‘education for liberation’ linked methodological issues with their ideological contexts,

so that the learner could see the relationship between sociopolitical structures and the act of learning and knowing (Freire and Macedo, 1998, p. 3).

Education for citizenship within this broader framework might focus on building democratic processes and related principles in everyday life, such as democratic forms of decisionmaking or conflict resolution. This approach is somewhat consistent with the “communal view of citizenship,” which sees civic activity as a source of personal development and a contribution to the general well being of the community (Conover & Searing, 1994, p. 35).

A person’s (and educational system’s) idea of citizenship is likely to be a combination of both the communal and contractual visions, according to Conover and Searing. In many ways “the good citizen” presents something like a “citizenship profile”, with different possible emphases on loyalty, civic virtue, tolerance, political self-development, civic memory, political participation and civic behavior (including civility, public service, and a potentially critical view when examining political information).

The first IEA study in 1976 demonstrated that, in practice, good citizenship was multidimensional, and systems promoted different versions. For example, one finding of this 1976 study was that students high in democratic values (e.g., support for tolerance, anti-authoritarianism, and equality) did not necessarily have a high interest in civic participation (Torney-Purta and Schwille, 1986). Similarly an USAID-sponsored study on civic education programs in Poland and the Dominican Republic found, among other things, that:

The programs that succeeded in generating higher levels of participation were not necessarily those that had the greatest impact on democratic values; participation could increase without value changes, at least in the short term (Sabatini, Bevis and Finkel, 1998, p. 51).

Findings such as these suggest the complexity of designing programming in the citizenship education field. The following section includes descriptions of such programming. Whenever possible, we have included objectives for students, information concerning the program implementation and related impact studies. None of these examples in itself can be fully satisfying to the policymaker or practitioner searching for solutions to the problems of citizenship education. Considered as a whole, however, we hope that they will indicate promising themes as well as challenges, and provide information which can stimulate and inform further dialogue.

III. THE STATE OF THE ART, AND THE SCIENCE OF CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION

A man cannot arrive at the fullness of his moral and intellectual development but through education, and society fulfills the father through the education of his son.

-- Domingo Sarmiento, Argentinian president

In this section, we will present illustrations of citizenship education that, in our opinion, support a culture of democratic development. These examples are taken from different areas of programming, including structured curriculum and textbook development, whole school/community approaches, and educator training. Whenever possible, we have included related research. However, very little research or program evaluation has been done in the region in the area of civic education (Villegas-Reimers, 1994b, p. 37).³ Moreover, what has been done has been qualitative rather than quantitative in nature, so we cannot provide comparative assessments of programs.⁴

There are many promising examples of citizenship education in Latin America, as well as in other developing democracies. The ones mentioned in this monograph are included because they are recognized by civic education experts as exemplary approaches, and because relatively detailed information was available. The examples collectively represent a variety of countries, with differing historical-political conditions (though we were not able to obtain information from all the countries we would like to have included). In some cases, the programs were developed indigenously or adapted from within Latin America. In others, the programs were developed in cooperation with specialists from other countries or inter-governmental agencies. We have tried to include a cross-section of these originating sources.

A. Organizing for Systemic Change in Citizenship Education

Before delving more deeply into these specific program areas, it is important to look holistically at this general area of reform. This means taking into account not only general research findings about citizenship education, but also the current knowledge about the organization of educational reform at the national level. More specifically, we mean the efforts of central agencies, such as Ministries of Education, to guide and support bottom-up reform at the local level. Creative local programming can result in interesting innovations in practice. However, education ministries have the unique possibility to foster nation-wide reform through their policymaking and resources.

³ Following an extensive search in hardcopy and electronic libraries, as well as contacts with experts in the field, we have found very few evaluations of civic education programs. This was true for U.S. and West European countries, as well as Latin America. In this section, therefore, we incorporate data collected for other subjects and reform efforts in the region to examine questions of interest regarding citizenship education in Latin America.

⁴ In Section V, we outline some evaluation strategies.

Ministries have the opportunity to play a crucial role in helping to set the framework, developing a consensus for a certain approach to citizenship education, and giving it priority. Moreover, educational authorities must authorize work done in the school setting. Central agencies, working at the policy level and with district and local constituents, can energize the work of both the governmental and non-governmental sectors in developing programming that both fits a national ideal about the good citizen and yet leaves room for sub-national variation in the realization of this goal. Such variations are essential in low-income areas in Latin America, where the classroom environment is such that there are heterogeneous groups; small institutions with no grade levels; multi-age classrooms; students with minority languages and culture; and few resources (OAS, 1998, p. 5).

Ministries of Education typically present civics-related courses either as a separate subject, or as a theme integrated into other subjects (or both). The process of establishing the curriculum for a separate civic course can help engender a consensus-building process and leadership on what constitutes education for democracy and “the good citizen.” This implies that the civic education model will be truly oriented towards “education for democracy.” Such a conversation might also cross the subject or discipline lines in those countries where national standards for students are developed. Articulation of outcomes for students as they reach certain benchmarks in their education --such as the ability to analyze political processes -- could actually validate discussion-oriented methodologies across a wider set of courses. In any case, people other than those from the Ministry of Education ought to be involved in the process of establishing national curricula, and care needs to be taken that updated curricula are distributed throughout the country and integrated into teacher preparation programs offered at the universities.

On the other hand, Ministries and donor agencies might heed some lessons from educational reforms in the region. Attempts to create formulas or codify successful innovations at the local level may make them stale and irrelevant. The most successful reforms, such as the early phase of Escuela Nueva, treat innovation as “actions of teachers rather than ideas of designers” (McGinn, 1993, p. 25). Perhaps the wisest approach would be to provide teachers with the tools to invent curriculum and instructional approaches to meet the needs of their students, thus keeping the process organic. In this instance, the role of central agencies might be to develop general guidelines, foster supportive mechanisms, give educators training and opportunities for collaboration, and assess overall outcomes. In most cases, Latin American teachers are trained to interpret curriculum, not develop or create it; we are suggesting a shift in ways that teachers are prepared to work with materials in the classroom.

In cases where national programming has worked well, or where locally initiated programming has been adapted elsewhere, several features have characterized the innovation or reform:

1. There has been a clear conception of the goals for students in the areas of content knowledge, skills and values, as well as appropriate methodology to reach these goals.

2. The innovation or reform has remained organic. The individual teachers and innovators involved have had key ownership in a program that they found exciting and relevant to their classrooms.
3. Oftentimes, the program involved empowering elements for both practitioners and students, including the team approach to teaching, a high degree of student involvement, and the opportunity to make changes based on experience. The innovation or reform is often a professional development experience for the educator.

These elements of educational reform are reflective of some general trends in development work. Some agencies involved in Latin American economic development are calling for “those who have less power to have more of a voice in decisions which affect them” (UN Social Summit-Copenhagen, as quoted in Green, 1998, p. 147). People-centered development ideas are now influencing credit for family firms, growing food and combating poverty. This model of economic decision-making both parallels and is dependent upon grassroots-oriented strategies for educational renewal and democratic citizenship education. This approach requires both a stronger articulation of need from the less powerful and an improved capacity to listen on the parts of governmental and inter-governmental agencies.

B. Research and Evaluation Informing Citizenship Education

If Latin American examples can give us insights into general principles for organizing national reform efforts, international research is also able to provide some guiding principles for citizenship education. The participation of nearly thirty countries across the world in Phase 2 of the IEA Civic Education Study suggests that many countries are interested in examining the roles of formal and informal civic education.⁵

Despite the complexity of environmental factors influencing a young person’s citizenship attitudes, school-oriented research has demonstrated the following:

- There is a clear relationship between a person’s overall educational achievement and the support of democratic values, political participation, voting behavior and being politically informed. The higher the educational achievement, the more likely the person was to be active in these areas (Ichilov, 1990, as quoted by Fleischman, 1996, p. 11).
- A link has been found between certain kinds of programming and the development of democratic attitudes. The IEA study which collected data in 1971 showed that a positive predictor of both anti-authoritarianism attitudes and of reported participation in political discussions was a classroom climate that encouraged individual expressions of opinion (Torney-Purta and Schwille, 1986).

⁵ Chile and Colombia participated in this study during 1999 (Torney-Purta, Schwille, and Amadeo, 1999).

This feature of the classroom climate demonstrated that schools do make a difference in political learning, since it was a positive predictor even after the effects of home background and the general level of schooling had been controlled for.

- An important corollary to the above finding is that the manifest curriculum (direct instruction involving courses and texts in civics and related classes) does not stand alone in influencing political attitudes, knowledge, and values, although it does appear to have certain effectiveness, at least in the United States (Niemi and Junn, 1998). The latent curriculum, including how classes are taught, is of vital importance (Ehmann, 1980).

Some civic educators have pointed out that no single study can demonstrate a link between classroom climate, teaching practice, school structure and the promotion of democratic citizenship. However, the studies available strongly suggest the link. Moreover, some studies have explicitly shown that more traditional approaches to civics education based on lecture, rote memorization, reliance on a single textbook as the source of all knowledge “do not engender a strong commitment to tolerance, particularly as it applies to unpopular ideas and groups” (Avery as quoted by Fleischman, p. 11).

In the United States, there has been one recent examination of the impact of courses in civic education (Niemi and Junn, 1998). This study analyzed the extensive and well-sampled data from the 1988 National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) study of knowledge of political history, politics, and norms. Niemi and Junn found a small and significant positive effect on learning, favoring high school seniors who had taken civic education classes, an effect that persisted even when other variables were controlled. They also found that other factors, such as interest in the subject matter of civics and involvement in participative activities supplementing textbooks, played a facilitating role in learning. Similar to the results of other studies, the researchers found that rote memorization and frequent testing had a negative impact on civics learning. We can infer from this that many of the programs in Latin America, which appear to use memorization, may also be unproductive.

In Brazil, there have been attempts to study the effects of various factors in fostering young children’s literacy (Fuller, et. al., 1999), which have relevance for the field of civic learning. Fuller’s study had a qualitative first phase, followed by a more quantitative phase that included structured interviews with directors of schools, teachers, and students, and also observations of 140 teachers for three hours. The data were analyzed using multilevel statistical modeling. The authors preface the results of this study by noting that such empirical results are rarely available to policymakers.

They found that teachers spent most of their time in simple routines, such as dictation activities from which children were to write, reading activities, and grading homework. The largest share of achievement variability that could be predicted was explained by school and teacher quality, pedagogy and classroom organization. Quality of lighting in the school, as well as quality of educational materials and reading activities, were

important positive predictors of achievement. A negative effect was found for time spent in class on writing exercises; the explanation is probably that writing exercises actually mean that students are completing assignments on drill sheets or the teacher is dictating material for students to copy, without explaining the meaning.

The picture that these authors give of these classrooms is likely to be similar to the picture we would find for civic education or history classes, and tells us once again that rote memorization is likely to be counter-productive.

It is also evident that well designed evaluations of specific, civics-related programs are very much needed in Latin America, in order to understand what impact, if any, such programs are having on students' ability to actively participate in a democracy.

Questions about evaluation:

If a civic education program has been fully implemented for at least a year, have any evaluations been conducted (keeping in mind that such evaluations are relatively rare)? If so, how have the results been incorporated into program improvement?

If there is a national or regional evaluation system in place, would it be possible to support the inclusion of civics-related subjects into that system?

If research or evaluation has taken place in broad areas such as teacher quality or literacy, how can that information be used in civic education program improvement?

C. Program Components in Citizenship Education

In the little world in which children have their existence, there is nothing so finely perceived and so finely felt as injustice. -- Charles Dickens

An extensive set of interviews and documentary reviews in the countries which were participants in the second IEA study showed a universal or near-universal commitment to certain goals and themes for civic education. "Citizenship education should be cross-disciplinary, participatory, interactive, related to life, conducted in a non-authoritarian environment, cognizant of the challenges of social diversity, and co-constructed with parents and the community (and its organizations) as well as the schools" (Torney-Purta, Schwille, Amadeo, 1999, p. 30). There has been no universal success in any country in formulating programs that optimize these goals, nor can any single civic program address all the desired outcomes of citizenship. Education for democracy can take place in numerous forms, both inside and outside of the classroom. Nonetheless, well-formulated efforts on the

parts of government agencies, non-governmental agencies, educators and stakeholders can have important concrete results.

We have presented some general principles for designing systemic, organic processes of reform that are attentive to the learning experiences of both adults and children, and to the informal or hidden curriculum that influence the outcomes of schooling. These themes will continue to emerge as we present the following vehicles of reform: curriculum and resource materials, whole school and community-oriented approaches, adult education, and educator training and preparation.

For each of these components, we will present several illustrative approaches from Latin America, and sometimes from elsewhere. Whenever possible, we will include research results or evidence of success from the programming. We will also attempt to operationalize these examples by deriving some principles of good practice.

1. Curriculum and resource materials in the formal schooling sector

In the large majority of Latin American countries, the teaching program and content are developed by the Ministry of Education or commissioned specialists. The materials typically available to classroom teachers include Ministry-authorized student textbooks (sometimes available in insufficient quantities). Usually, the Ministry has commissioned and printed only one textbook per required subject. In many countries, teachers draw on other resources in organizing their lessons.

A 1993 Latin American survey on civic education showed considerable variation in how civics was presented in the formal curriculum, whether as a separate or an integrated subject (Villegas-Reimers, 1994b, pp. 28-9). The same survey found that the predominant teaching method for civics was traditional lectures, which encouraged a more passive approach to learning (Villegas-Reimers, 1994b, p. 30). Throughout the region, the traditional lecture style predominates, and the negative impacts are strongest at the lowest levels, where student bodies are more diverse (OAS, 1998, p. 29).

The 'typical curriculum' is geared towards 'geniuses'...the pressure to 'transfer' an overly extensive curriculum...prevents inclusion of the students' experience and imposes contexts that relate exclusively to students from upper (or upper middle) class backgrounds (OAS, 1998, p. 30).

In this context, students from less privileged background find themselves not only disadvantaged in terms of their ability to succeed in school, they are in many ways disenfranchised from an education that could help prepare them for full citizenship.

It is perhaps commonsense to reiterate that quality education will take into account students' varying backgrounds, and that children respond well to lessons that can be applied to their daily lives. Children who have come from disadvantaged backgrounds, may need assistance in 'decoding' their reality, along the lines encourage by Freire. Moreover, education for democratic citizenship may be particularly problematic in countries where 'the constitution has been preached while the young people were living under authoritarian regimes' (Floria, 1996, p. 2).

Attention needs to be paid to both the content and processes used within the civic educational materials, and the implicit messages they harbor. A tin miner's wife from Bolivia recalls the failure of school to explain her reality:

In school I learned to read, to write, and to get along. But I can't say that school really helped me to understand life...[t]hey make us see the motherland like a beautiful thing in the national anthem, in the colours of the flag...[T]he motherland, for me, is in every corner, it's also in the miners, in the peasants, in the people's poverty, in their nakedness, their malnutrition, in their pains and their joys (Green, 1998, p. 155).

Teaching materials need to be motivating. Experiences within Latin America already tell us certain topics are likely to be of interest to students. The IEA study is identifying some promising approaches for youth, which would draw on issues of high interest. These areas are the environment, media understanding and student decisionmaking in informal communities (Torney-Purta, Schwille, Amadeo, 1999, p. 30).

1.1 Structured curricular or textbook approach.

We have included one structured curricular approach and three examples of textbooks developed in the field of civic education. Three of these examples are from Latin America, and the other is from Romania. Each of these materials represents a special approach to teaching citizenship education. The first, from Colombia, comes from the extensive review of all dimensions of civic education with a special emphasis on the official curricular documents. The second, from Chile⁶, represents a tradition of textbooks that emphasis the acquisition of content knowledge. The third, from Nicaragua, illustrates a primarily values-oriented approach. The Romanian example offers a kind of blending between content, attitude and critical thinking skill development in children.

Questions that the reader might keep in mind as these materials are presented are:

What is the underlying conception of citizenship that this material is trying to promote? How are the areas of content knowledge, skills and attitudes formally addressed? Are the instructional methods consistent with these student outcomes?

What is the underlying, latent, or implicit curriculum of this material, as demonstrated by the language of the authors, and the instructional and assessment methods? What kinds of questions are students asked to answer? What kinds of questions are student encouraged to ask?

Are the students given any critical perspective on their social and political lives? Are

⁶Note that Chile is a participant in Phase 2 of the IEA Civic Education Study but did not join in time to participate in a full version of Phase 1. The material cited here comes from another Chilean source, not the IEA team.

they given tools for understanding their experiences in the political domain?

Is the material motivating for students? Does it include pictures and motivating issues that young people can relate to?

Can the material be adapted to the needs of poorer and minority populations in the country?

The Curriculum for Civic Education in Colombia: The teaching of civics-relevant subjects in Colombia includes the social sciences and begins with the functions of local, regional and national government and the Constitution. The IEA National Case Study goes on to note that during the primary school...

...national and regional symbols are used along with reference to persons of note and local specialness to create a sense of cohesion. In the first grades of basic secondary education, the Social Sciences Program focuses on the historic configuration of the nation within Latin America and the wider world. Diversity is highlighted, since that is central for defining Colombian reality and for promoting identity and the search for peace... The Spanish Literature area treats the function, characteristics, interpretations, and analyses of the different mass media. Additionally, some textbooks on education for democracy also treat the subject of mass media, insisting that freedom of expression is an important feature of democratic life. Community problems may or may not be addressed in philosophy and religion classes (Rueda, 1999).⁷

Colombian educators contacted during the IEA project often spoke of the importance of self-directed individual or group activities, and of a climate for discussion and of participation.

Nevertheless, research shows the predominance of a teaching system based on verbal and expository transmission of non-significant contents in which memorization constitutes the most-used learning mechanism. Both an evaluative practice addressed to controlling the classroom and an authoritarian exercise by the teacher still exist (Rueda, 1999).

There has been some progress, however.

Several proposals seeking to present concretely the work in education for democracy by teachers have been developed and, in different regions of the country, several school manuals and textbooks have been prepared around citizen

⁷ See Rueda, 1999, where a great deal more detail about curricular matters is given, based on extensive interviews, focus groups, and documentary analysis. References presented include Spanish sources.

rights enshrined in the Constitution. A series of school textbooks and a few audio-visual materials have also been prepared for different grades (Rueda, 1999).

The problem of a gap between ideals and realities of education for democracy is especially strong in poor areas. Rueda notes that there are “strong feelings of class discrimination and a generalized skepticism -- shared by teachers -- toward politicians, political activities, and non-democratic forms of socialization connected with corruption and violence” (Rueda, 1999).

What are the directions for the future that the IEA Case Study experts in Colombia propose in order to realize the potential of education for democracy?

...Establishing links between researchers involved with education for democracy, higher education, and basic education teachers, taking advantage of the teacher training programs that the General Law assigns to universities. This interaction would seek to relate the theoretical and the practical to each other.

...More substantial support for current initiatives in order that they might have real social impact, guaranteeing their continuity, and fostering networks for exchange of experience. As well, a better articulation between school-based programs of education in democracy and non-school education programs is required.

...Placing a greater emphasis on evaluation of the impact of those programs.

...A process of rethinking the school mechanisms attached to education for democracy as proposed in the educational legislation (Living-together Manual, School Government, School Spokespersons, Student Social Service), harmonizing them with the educational goals that are being sought.

A number of pedagogical issues were also identified. All these solutions speak to the need to incorporate education for democracy into teacher preparation programs.

If education for democracy is to be a dimension that crosses curricular areas, that will mean designing mechanisms in schools that will assure adequate preparation for all members of the educational community.... Teachers are poorly equipped in the area of values education as well as in alternative ways of exercising power... One approach would be the organization of plans of study based on a problem focus as well as the school's commitment to the needs and projects of specific communities (Rueda, 1999).

A second pedagogical issue is this,

In various fields of social life in the country, there is a marked tendency to separate what is known, what is believed, and what is practiced...The idea that legal justice is inadequate is very widespread. Formalistic teaching becomes a safe route within a national context which is counterproductive to education in democracy. The result is a gap between what is known and what is learned in the classroom, between what is believed, and what is done in daily life. Consequently, in the field of education in democracy, it is very important to investigate what happens in the

hidden curriculum of schools and review how the constitutional landscape, the country's social, political, and economic situation, and the ethical ambiance of educational establishments, are combined in school reality (Rueda, 1999).

A third issue identified is the following...

...finding ways to articulate teaching about democratic institutions in their social, cultural, political, and economic dimensions with the realities of a growingly urbanized and diverse society. As of now, these matters are treated separately, without demonstrating the relationships and relevance.

This in-depth case study of one country's efforts in education for democracy has been quoted at length because it suggests a number of themes which could be applied more broadly. It also suggests a number of organizations, ranging from non-governmental organizations, to organizations sponsored by local Mayors, to universities, to the Ministry of Education that might be involved in this process. We now turn to our second example of curricular and resource materials in the formal schooling sector.

The Manual on Civic Education (Chile) was first written in 1990 by a specialist in constitutional law, in cooperation with a non-partisan, non-governmental agency called Participa. At that time, the country was transitioning back into democracy. The manual is now in its sixth printing. The central purpose of the text is to promote an understanding of and respect for the rule of law, and related Chilean government institutions. The conception of citizenship in this material is contractual; support for democratic development is formalized through knowledge and respect for Chilean law and its institutions. Individual responsibility and duty is emphasized, but larger political and historical issues are not discussed in a critical fashion. This approach within the formal curriculum is very common for the region, which is why we include it here.

The manual is intended for upper secondary school students, and is divided into 14 chapters addressing theoretical, historical and descriptive approaches to Theory of Law and the Chilean institutional system. The content scheme for the chapters begins with a focus on the individual and their human rights, civil rights and the constitution of the country.

Each chapter is organized on the basis of its main objective, fundamentals for learning content, learning activities, and a glossary and bibliography that can be used as a supplement by teachers and students (Nogueira, 1995). Because of the legalistic and philosophical approach of the material, there is a strong emphasis on the acquisition of knowledge. The open-book questions that the students are asked to complete are either closed-ended, multiple choice, matching or containing facts that can be assessed by the teacher. An example of some of the questions for students to answer are the following:

1. Identify the essential characteristics of a human being and its rights, and the distinction between a natural entity (a person) and a legal entity (a group, a corporation).
2. Explain the reasons why men live in societies, different forms of socialization, norms, and the rule of Law and institutions in societies.

3. Looking at the Chilean Constitution, identify the rights mentioned in the following questions and write the article number and paragraph that protects them on the dotted line.... (Nogueira, 1995).

There are some questions for group discussion: ‘Do you contribute to pollution’ How?’

The main thrust of the materials is clearly content-oriented. This characteristic illustrates an observation made by Dr. Villegas-Reimers, a specialist in democratic education in Latin America, that civic education curricula in the region ‘focuses on giving facts about topics relevant to civics, but not on developing skills, values and attitudes’ (Villegas-Reimers, 1994b, p. 22).

Education for Democracy Project (Nicaragua) was a cooperative effort between the Nicaraguan Center for Education for Democracy and American Federation of Teachers between 1991 and 1996. Like the aforementioned text, the project was developed at a sensitive political moment, as the country was transitioning a return to democracy. The project strove to develop a national model of citizenship education by working on a framework for civic education, a five-year curriculum for secondary schools, resource materials for teachers, and student textbooks. The implementation of the program was fostered through numerous in-service teacher trainings and the establishment of student governments in schools (Dicker, 1999).

The theoretical framework for the overall curriculum states quite clearly:

The Civic and Social Education program was born out of the two-fold need to put into practice the principles of a democratic society, and to provide students with an approach that cultivates their critical skills as well as their moral judgment. The program also seeks to give them a sense of worth as individuals in the exercise of democratic values (Ministerio de Educación, 1995, p. 9).

Students are intended to be the center of their learning. The framework also mentions directly that the learning activities are geared to promote cognitive, affective and social development. Reference is made to the constructivist-humanistic approach and inductive methods as styles of learning. The program is designed to take place in an environment conducive to democratic values.

The ‘General Goals of a Democratic Education’ are similarly articulate and also highly reflective of a ‘communal view of citizenship,’ with attention to civic participation (‘promote a critical approach to critical choice’) and democratic values (‘promote self expression and tolerance of the opinion of others’). The student materials that were developed for the 7-9 Forms reflect a special interest in values and attitudes, but especially as they pertain to civility, loyalty and civic virtue.

The ‘Student Profile’ includes a combination of goals related to valuing of and respect for Nicaraguan culture and democratic institutions, and an appraisal of these very features. In contrast to the Chilean example, the Nicaraguan example places less emphasis on pure content knowledge. On the other hand, there is more stress on values and attitudes, than on the development of democratically oriented skills. Nineteen of the 25 goals for students

were related to the acquisition or demonstration of certain attitudes. The remaining six goals referenced some skill, but usually these were so global as to present like a value: 'apply knowledge and skills in activities informed by democratic ideals' (Ministerio de Educación, 1995, p. 14).

The student text developed for lower secondary level students reflects this focus on values development. In some cases, the participatory activities allowed for values clarification. In others, the exercise was geared to reinforce specific attitudes.

The lesson on gender and prejudice is an example of a values clarification approach. In this lesson, the teacher asks the students to look up gender, complement and prejudice in the dictionary. A brainstorming on definitions ensues. A sample fill-in-the-blank statement is shared, and the class is invited to fill it in and create their own:

Women should ___ men.
Men should not ___ women.
Men can ___ women.
Women shouldn't _____.

Following this exercise, students discuss whether these statements are common, and if the students think they are true or false. This leads to a further discussion on gender roles, stereotypes and prejudice (Vargas and Buitrago, 1994).

A lesson on 'respect for country' shows a more directed approach to attitude development. In this lesson, students explore ways that they can show respect for the country through fulfilling obligations, being honest, singing the national anthem, and other activities. A special emphasis is placed on appropriate behavior in the school.

A challenge in any values-oriented curriculum is how to conduct the evaluation of students. In the evaluation for the prejudice exercise, teachers are instructed to assess the degree of prejudice in writings submitted by the students. In the respect for country lesson, students are asked to conduct a self-evaluation: Do I show respect for national icons? Do I do my homework? by applying 'always' 'almost always' 'almost never' and 'never.' An important question for a curriculum that uses a value-oriented approach is not only how the evaluation will be conducted, but how to develop exercises that allow students to actually develop attitudes (rather than teaching what the value is) (Villegas-Reimers, 1994b, p. 22).

Civic Culture 7th and 8th Forms (Romania) were textbooks developed by Dakmara Georgescu of the Institute of Educational Sciences in 1994, during the early period of political transition in Romania. The books were first authorized on an experimental basis and used in over 200 primary schools. Since that time, one has won a World Bank competition and will be disseminated even further throughout Romania.

The content of the materials followed the general lines specified in the National Curriculum, developed by a body of experts and approved by the Ministry of Education. In the seventh Form, the main topics were life in society and the Romanian political system; in the eighth Form, the topics were basic values and concepts of democracy (freedom, justice,

accountability, authority, etc.). The materials problematized these topics, and placed a central emphasis on the human rights framework.

The texts were designed for the Civics Culture classes, which schools are required to offer one hour a week at the lower secondary school level. The texts were unique for Romania at the time they were introduced, including an instructional methodology that emphasized dialogue, critical reflection, and individual and group work. Fundamental democratic values and practices, human rights, and the right of the child were key themes for the materials. Students were encouraged to learn not only concepts, but to analyze their social and political worlds, and to prepare to become active members of their communities.

A guide for teachers was also developed. This guide included variations on the lessons, which teachers could choose from on the basis of their preferences and familiarity with participatory methods of instruction. Teacher training was also made available.

One example from the Romanian materials is the 7th Form unit on norms and values. Following an introduction to the notion of norms and an exercise identifying norms in everyday life, pupils are presented with two questions, and asked to present arguments. 'Are norms eternal?' 'What factors do norms depend on'? As a starting point, the students are presented with examples; such as 'Islamic religion allows a man to have four wives' 'Women are not allowed in public with their faces uncovered' (Georgescu, 1995, p. 86). Exercises throughout the texts support critical thinking and group discussion, at the same time that the texts state clearly the intended outcome for the students. For the above lesson, a key paragraph introduced by the teacher following the discussion was 'a comparison between various historical eras and various cultures shows that norms are not unchangeable' (Georgescu, 1995, p. 87).

An impact study was conducted in the 1994-5 and 1995-6 school years with a single cohort of Romanian students who used the experimental texts in the seventh and then the eighth Forms (Tibbitts, 1999). Five classrooms, including one hundred and thirteen students, were studied using questionnaires, classroom observations, student focus group interviews, teacher feedback forms and review of student work. In addition to these 'treatment' classrooms, comparison classroom students (attending the same school but receiving civics instruction using the official Ministry textbook) were administered the student questionnaire. Data from nearly 900 surveys were collected over the course of the study.

For the treatment class, students demonstrated a statistically significant gain in their rating of the importance of the following citizenship characteristics, following two years in the program:

- * voting in most elections (F=14.05, p<.0001)
- * trying to influence government decisions and policies (F=21.87, p<.0001)

These changes were also confirmed in the open-ended questions in the surveys, as well as in interviews with students and teachers. There were no statistically significant gains in these categories for students in the comparison (non-experimental) classrooms.

Students in both the treatment and comparison classrooms consistently rated very high the importance of obeying the law, honoring one's country and not bringing dishonor to one's country.

The researcher proposed several conclusions. First, classroom innovation is possible when sustained technical support is provided and teachers are open to change. Second, even under such circumstances, changes in student attitudes do not happen quickly; statistically significant increases in students' valuing of more participatory forms of citizenship did not emerge until two years into the program. Third, students' increased valuing of these participatory dimensions of citizenship does not eliminate or reduce their loyalty and sense of affiliation with the State.

1.2 Focus on flexible instructional methodology.

In the previous section, we presented several textbook approaches that can be used in the citizenship education field (and in the Colombian case study also focussed on instructional method as an essential concomitant). Another approach is to focus quite directly on the methodological innovation itself, and to use a student-centered approach to instruction to promote attitudes and values related to democratic decisionmaking and participation. This approach is often a cross-curricular approach to citizenship education, complemented by attention to nonformal school activities that reinforce qualities of active citizenship.

Escuela Nueva (Colombia) is by now a well-known rural education program, initiated in 1975 by the Ministry of Education, and replicated in several other countries in the region. The program began in a few rural schools, and with support from various international donors transformed into a national program serving thousands of schools with standardized learning guides for teachers and students. The Escuela Nueva model serves concrete instructional needs of rural students in one-teacher schools by allowing for self-learning, peer tutoring and flexible promotion. At the same time, the model attempts to foster democratic culture and decisionmaking process in the classroom and school through cooperative learning and participatory government.

The components of the program include not only the curriculum, but teacher training, student government, learning activity centers, libraries and community involvement. Students are encouraged to be active in school committees in the school, responsibilities that range from cleaning, maintenance, sports, the school newspaper, school adornment and discipline (Schiefelbein, 1991 in Villegas-Reimers, 1993, p. 10). Students also have the opportunity to establish links within their village. Some homework asks children to interview family and community members about the history of the village, local farming methods, and so on (Reimers, 1993, p. 19). In Guatemala, these schools are intended to be "the focal point for community integration and development, and ...teachers are expected to provide the school-community link" (Mantilla, 1999, p. 6).

In many ways, Escuela Nueva is a school-based approach. However, we included this example under formal curriculum, since an important feature of the program is the self-paced learning guides that enable a student-centered approach to learning. The curriculum is contained in self-instructional guides divided into a number of units, each with up to 15 tasks. The student is asked to carry out the task and to then draw conclusions. Students

monitor their own progress and promotion within the school is based on mastery (McGinn, 1993, pp. 15-16).

External evaluations have revealed a complex picture. The complexity that has arisen since the scaling up of the program, is that schools do not always opt to implement all aspects of the program. This has made it difficult to isolate the 'Escuela Nueva' impact. In the best case, students graduating from Escuela Nueva schools do as well or slightly better than their counterparts in traditional rural schools, in the areas of academic subjects, creativity and civic education. This has been accomplished with few teachers than traditional schools, and has guaranteed a completion rate unusual for such disadvantaged populations (Reimers, 1993, p. 21). A longitudinal study conducted in Guatemala at the primary school level found that these schools enable decentralized classroom interaction patterns, greater cooperation among students, and ultimately greater pro-social and democratic behaviors (Baessa, Girón, Ramos and Valdés, 1996, p. 62). In some other settings no significant differences are found between student achievement and attitudes in Escuela Nueva schools and traditional schools (McGinn, 1993, p. 24).

1.3 Establishing family and community links.

Some curricula have especially strong emphasis on issues with high relevance to the daily life of young people. This 'problem-oriented' approach has as an explicit goal the development of skills that will enable young people to address these challenges and difficulties. Rueda (1999) includes some references to the need for this approach, and there are also some sources that explicitly describe this kind of program.

Newspaper in School Program (Argentina) was initiated in 1986 in cooperation with the National Association of Regional Daily Newspapers (ADIRA). The main goal of the media education program was 'strengthening democratic norms among primary and secondary school students by promoting open discussions of current political issues in the classroom' (Chaffee, Morduchowicz, and Galperin, 1998, p. 150). This built on a previous educational effort of Morduchowicz involving students in producing radio programs.

Regional newspapers provide local schools with free copies once a week, and teachers who volunteer for the program are trained in class activities that can be used with the newspapers. Implementation has varied. Some teachers have used the papers mainly for grammar exercises, while others have connected the media to social studies exercises involving writing and discussions of the free press and current events (Chaffee, Morduchowicz and Galperin, 1998, p. 153).

A 1995 evaluation of the program involved over 3,300 students in 14 Argentine provinces (treatment and control groups) and showed significant gains for students in five communication measures, including media use (newspaper and TV) and interpersonal discussion with family and friends. The researchers were impressed by the fact that the school program resulted in behaviors that carried over into the homelife of the children. Students in the 'newspaper in school program' also showed statistically significant gains in cognitions such as opinion holding and political interest, and expressed a significantly greater tolerance for diversity and stronger pro-democratic values (Chaffee,

Morduchowicz, and Galperin, 1998, pp. 157-159). These effects were stronger when teachers incorporated newspapers into open-ended writing exercises or debates.

Human Rights for Girls and Boys (Argentina) is a supplementary material resource developed by the non-governmental organization Instituto de Genero, Derecho Y Desarrollo. The book has been distributed through a variety of formal and nonformal channels in six provinces and is written for children between the ages of 6 and 13. In the school setting, the human rights lessons are intended for integration into the curricular areas of ethics and citizenship formation and the social sciences. The Instituto organizes trainings, and has developed several spin-off activities in the area of women's literacy and women's human rights, involving materials development, training and videos (Martinez, 1998).

Like the 'Newspaper in Schools Program,' the human rights material is implemented on a voluntary basis by teachers. The 75-page book is organized around the articles contained in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Convention on the Rights of the Child. The authors organized round table discussions with children in order to develop the book, and children's illustrations are included. Each chapter presents an explanation of a core theme, the relevant human rights article, a motivating poem and children's illustration, and questions to consider. The language used is simple and accessible to children.

The chapter on 'the right to work' begins in this way:

Work is what people do for their own benefit or for the benefit of others. Work has a positive effect on the people involved and in society at large. As a rule, people have to work to pay their bills and expenses and other basic needs...

And later:

Children are not supposed to work. Law forbids it because it may endanger their life and hamper their growth and development. Nonetheless, one in every four Latin American children works...(Martinez and Jurado, 1998, p. 31).

The lesson continues with a presentation of the relevant human rights articles, and concludes with a poem and two children's drawings. One of the illustrations shows a child delivering a newspaper. The poem is actually a song written by Fito Paez, 'Once y seis'. The concluding stanzas are:

For a month they sold flowers at La Paz
nothing else really mattered
together they made money here and there

I don't know why but I saw them no more
he was eleven and she was six
and when he laughed the moon shone on him...⁸

⁸ Translated by Jorje Ruedo Landeros, 1999, for the purposes of this monograph.

The treatment of social and political problems, as well as human rights themes, is a sensitive matter in many countries. Ministries of Education have demonstrated different methods for addressing this problem, including highly theoretical treatment of the issues in the formal curriculum, deferral to non-governmental agencies, or acknowledgment of the problem in a constructive way. Citizenship education programs in transitional democracies face a complicated array of challenges, including the treatment of historical and current injustices. How these problems are handled in the formal curriculum sends clear messages to teachers and students about how willing government agencies are to address them.

Treatment of such issues seems core to the praxis approach advocated by Paulo Freire and others, where learners work out of their life experiences in constructing their learning experience. This approach, originally developed for adults, is more complicated for younger children, but nonetheless calls for relevance to their daily lives even when these references may be problematic.

The effectiveness and validity of [Freire's] method lie in having the learner's reality as a starting point -- in starting from what they already know, from the pragmatic value of the things and the facts of their daily life; that is, their existential situations. By respecting and starting from common sense, Freire proposes overcoming it (Freire and Macedo, 1998, p. 8).

A specialist on democratic development and gender issues believes that it is essential to grapple with such matters in the context of school and family life.

Should the school choose to do so, the agenda is extensive: the curriculum should include participation in family decision-making; respect for parents but rejection of family violence, particularly mother (wife) battery; equality of parents within their home; and consideration of sexuality as a form of social relations rather than as a manifestation of man's nature' (Stromquist, 1996a, p. 412).

This material, and others like it developed in Latin America, raises a central question about whether 'good citizenship' or 'civic behavior' should extend beyond sanctioned behaviors, such as voting, to activism for social and political reform. On this matter, there is little consensus.

Questions to ask when considering curricular and textbook/materials programming:

Does this program foster discussion among stakeholders on the concept of citizenship?

Do the materials address the content, knowledge and skills required for citizenship? Are these well balanced?

Do the materials reflect current theories about how young people learn? Do they

incorporate exercises that promote effective practice of what is learned? Are they flexible enough to be used by diverse populations in the country?

Are the materials motivating to students, and reflective of authentic situations they will face in life?

Is it likely that this program will result in teaching practices that encourage student expression of opinions, cooperation, participation, decisionmaking, autonomy and the development of leadership skills? Are there training programs and/or materials for teachers which would promote such practices?

Does the material adequately address the country's need to foster loyalty to and support for democratic institutions, while at the same time promoting thinking in a critical way when that is appropriate, and an interest in contributing to the betterment of society?

2. Whole school and community approaches

We have already presented key research findings that point to the importance of classroom climate and the 'latent curriculum' in influencing democratic attitudes and behaviors in students. If these are the program features that we are ultimately pursuing, how can educational system try to influence them?

One way already presented is through the use of lesson topics and methodology that engage students in topical issues, and enable them to explore and express their opinions in discussion with others. The implicit, but central, actor in this model is the teacher -- the teacher as facilitator, as patient listener, as respectful arbitrator of views. Only a teacher with the intention to promote a genuine dialogue between her/himself and all students in the classroom has the opportunity to succeed in creating a democratic classroom environment. Materials can assist in this process, but they cannot create it in and of themselves.

Teacher preparation is one mechanism for reinforcing the importance of a democratic classroom culture and the application of new materials and participatory methods for reaching this goal. Educator training programs are addressed as the final program component, at the end of this section.

Another mechanism, more challenging perhaps, is attention to the norms, decisionmaking mechanisms and authority relations in the classrooms and in the overall school structure. This domain is consistent with the communal view of citizenship.

Experiments with just communities, and related moral education research (based on the theory of Kohlberg), has demonstrated that 'classroom and school decisionmaking raises levels of moral reasoning, increases pro-social behavior, diminishes negative behavior, improves conflict resolution skills, and increases a sense of personal responsibility and

responsibility toward the school' (Berman, 1997, p. 128). Key to these results is that decisionmaking is authentic.

Democracy cannot be a surface maneuver -- a gesture to fairness that leaves the traditional authority structure in place. If students are asked to play at democracy while the teacher goes on making the real decisions, little is gained while the good name of democracy is lost' (Power et al, 1989, as quoted in Berman, 1997, p.131).

Participation in **school government** is recognized as important in most of the IEA case studies, though many countries express some ambivalence toward it. The Colombian IEA case study cited earlier makes some telling points.

When the school year starts, schools elect a School Government and a Student Spokesperson. These elections are conceived in many cases as a "simulation" of the voting characteristic of representative democracies... [However,] the problems which the 1991 Constitution tried to overcome could be seen as being reproduced in the schools: lack of control and responsibility among electors and those elected; no balance of powers; bureaucratized and centralized power structures; a formal approach to dealing with student rights... Most often the Spokesperson cannot adequately exercise his/her function in defense of student rights because students are not informed, teachers are not open to it, and student organizations are underdeveloped (Rueda, 1999).

On the other hand, the experts who participated in IEA Phase 1 in Colombia make the point that, despite many problems,

..on many occasions, these student roles do succeed in bringing teachers and students closer together, in satisfying the search for redress in students and parents, in making school order less rigid, and in counteracting authoritarian exercise of power. School government offers the possibility of school autonomy although, at the present time, it is elected more because of the need to comply with official requirements than because of a conviction about its importance (Rueda, 1999).

It is probable that such issues are important in other Latin American countries as well.

The **Escuela Nueva** model contained both student-centered instruction and authentic opportunities for students to rejuvenate their primary schools through participation in student government and action committees. This model, therefore, linked both the classroom and whole school components of democratic culture.

The **Just Community** approach, developed as an application of Kohlberg's moral development theories, is focused on the secondary school level. This approach focuses on civic and moral education, as well as student responsibility; in just community schools, students are co-decisionmakers with faculty and staff in all decisions related to those participating in the just community. The goal is to 'promote individual moral development ' moral awareness, understanding of a democracy, respect for others' rights...and an overall sense of responsibility to others through a general moral atmosphere' (Villegas-Reimers, 1993, p.12). Thus far, this model has been implemented in a small number of U.S. and

German schools. This program has significant impact upon the students, but requires a high degree of commitment and energy on the part of school faculty, thus limiting its diffusion.

Responsive and egalitarian school atmospheres can also be fostered through the strengthening of **links between the school and parents**. A study prepared by the Organization of American States identified efforts in numerous countries that included parents in the organization and administration of the school. These successful projects included 'EDUCO' (El Salvador), Community Instructors (Mexico), 'Support for School Communities' (Nicaragua), Social-Educational Plan (Argentina), 'School Councils of Minas Gerais and Parana' (Brazil), 'Institutional Educational Projects [PEI]' (Colombia) and 'Partners for Change' (Jamaica) (OAS, 1998, p.41).

Schools can also open their doors by, on the one hand, enabling community members to work with young people and, on the other hand, by directly serving adult community members.

Fe Y Alegría (Faith & Joy) is a non-governmental organization which had over 500 centers operating in 12 Latin American countries in 1992. Fe y Alegría's primary mission is to provide quality education to the poor, and to establish schools that operate on behalf of community development. Typically, 'the Ministry of Education pays the salaries of teachers; the communities participate in the construction and maintenance of the school; and Fe y Alegría trains and supervises teachers, manages the school, and assists the school in its operation as a center for community development' (Reimers, 1993, p.11). Initial community involvement can come through the donation of land. Although Roman Catholic congregations manage many of the schools, the national chapters are legally registered as private, non-profit organizations and have agreements with the Ministries of Education; the federation Fe y Alegría Internacional is a consultative member of UNESCO and UNICEF.

The fostering of a community of parents is an important feature of these schools. One of the teachers at a Venezuelan school wrote the following:

We pay attention to the community in the very examples used to teach reading, and in the content of all other subjects. We teach knowledge in its context, acknowledging the elements of oppression, but also those of resistance by the popular groups, we rescue popular culture...With this kind of planning, the parents can easily become teachers as they can help reconstruct the story of the barrio or describe the village where they came from or narrate episodes of the history of Venezuela...(as cited by Reimers, 1993, p.13).

One of the more developed national programs is in Bolivia. In 1992, Fe y Alegría operated in eight of the nine educational departments, with formal education programs at the preschool, primary, secondary, and technical levels. The chapter also conducts programming in radio education, teacher training, parent education, community development, daycare, health, and religious education. Most of these programs evolve organically, in response to the identification of local needs and through harnessing local energy. In this way, Fe y Alegría exemplifies a systemic, localized approach to increasing access to education.

Numerous educational innovations have been documented in the Bolivian Fe y Alegría centers, as well as those in other countries. These innovations have taken place in the

classroom, through personalized instruction and learning centers, and also in the larger community through public education and counseling. Anecdotal evidence suggests that:

[G]raduates have better mastery of basic skills in reading, writing, and math. In addition, they have had opportunities for social and emotional growth; their teachers have paid attention to the development of self-esteem (Reimers, p.17).

Finding mechanisms for working with local groups is one of the agendas that has been placed before Ministries of Education by reform agencies, such as the Latin American Program of the Council of Foreign Relations (Cerreño and Pyle, 1996, p. 3). Such partnerships not only help to ensure service to underserved areas, but assist in the delivery and coordination of educational services (including citizenship education) by means other than the school itself.

Questions to ask about whole school/community approaches:

Is the educational program attentive to issues of decisionmaking and governance within the school?

Does the program explicitly encourage community involvement? Are there formal procedures or incentives for this?

Is there an understanding that the school should seek out ways to meet the needs of the larger community?

3. Informal education strategies

We have just presented several programs that have a strong community component. Numerous programs have been developed by local organizations focusing on the informal and nonformal education sector. Many of these programs have been developed for vulnerable adult populations, and especially women in rural areas. Almost all of them involve a partnership between parents, educators and political leaders.

In this section, we present several programs from the informal, adult education sector that illustrate a promising methodology or content approach that could be adapted for use in the school sector.

3.1 Linking with other educational agendas.

Health and civic education

Child-to-child (Nicaragua) is a community health program in which children and young people work together in addressing local problems. Young people are trained as organizers and work with younger peers in their town on matters such as disease prevention,

environmental protection, and clean-ups. In the Nicaraguan town of El Viejo, some children explained:

We went to a health workshop and they taught us how to solve the rubbish problem, that we could turn it into a rich compost for the trees. We got interested and decided to form a barrio committee and carried out a survey. It showed the main problems were rubbish, malnutrition and malaria. We decided to start with the rubbish...We want kids in the future to play in clean streets....(Green, 1998, p. 189).

The 'child-to-child' programme, which originated in Great Britain, exemplifies how child participation program can result in activities that benefit not only themselves but also the community. It is a prime example of active citizenship when 'children can channel that sense of injustice and idealism into improving their communities, gaining self esteem from being treated as responsible participants' (Green, 1998, p.189). Moreover, programs run by and for young may have a better chance of succeeding than others run by adults, since children have many shared understandings. In such programs, of course, it is helpful if the older children can assist the younger ones in relating their 'child-to-child' experiences and connecting them with democratic life.

Literacy training and civic education

UNESCO has initiated numerous projects in Latin America that focus on rural women. Peruvian adult education projects were developed in the mid-1980s that linked literacy, leadership development/civic development, and vocational skills/economic development.

A book documenting these Peruvian experience (Núñez, 1990) presents how this basic program was adapted to the particular conditions of the three different geographical and cultural regions in the rainforest, the plains, and the coastal region. We will illustrate the Peruvian Vina Alta Project, carried out in conjunction with the non-governmental agency CENDIPP, in order to demonstrate how civic and literacy education were combined.⁹

In this project, literacy acquisition was conceived not only as reading and writing, but also as the development of critical thinking towards reality and the traditional role of peasant women, along the Freirian model. Critical to the success of this project, was the responsive and pragmatic leadership of CENDIPP. In setting up the project in Vina Alta, the first thing that CENDIPP did was to reopen the Comité de Damas, a Woman's Council that had become inactive over the years. There it was discovered that women were more interested in learning sewing and other useful crafts that could take place in the house than in literacy; an arts and crafts center was thus opened.

From this Council, a few women demonstrating leadership qualities were selected for training as teachers and community liaisons. On this basis, a co-learning relationship was developed, with a cycle of materials development and feedback that resulted in regular iterations. For example, in the beginning of each class, a group activity was held. An illustration was presented to the students, and interpreted within the groups. Each group came up with a sentence that interpreted the drawing. The key word in that sentence was

⁹ The remaining presentation on the Vina Alta Project is taken from Núñez, 1990.

broken down into phonemes, and other relevant words were composed with the phonemes until a sentence that summarized the session was constructed. The teachers collected valuable data and impressions, which then informed the creation of classroom materials such as 'You and I shall learn.' The idea connecting the material was life for women in Vina Alta, and their rights and obligations as people, workers and citizens.

Daily work was organized accordingly: a group activity, a free activity to develop manual dexterity, a reading and writing session, and then manual crafts training. According to the book, over the course of the program, the manual crafts program became secondary, and students became increasingly interested in literacy. Community involvement eventually extended beyond the literacy workshops to women's rights campaigns, family planning, nutrition, and celebrations.

Seventy percent of the women in the program became literate. In Vina Alta, ten teacher trainers carried on literacy education and other activities. According to *Literacy and Civic Education*, the major achievements of the project were 'an increased awareness among the women of their rights within the family and the community, an increased self-esteem and autonomy, and the strengthening of communal practices and organizations' (Núñez, 1990). Some students testified:

We understood everything about ourselves, our children, everyone. Classes were entertaining, unlike real school.

They always made us think...there were some things we didn't know about, like our rights.

One teacher testified that 'the most important change was that women don't let themselves be physically abused by their husbands anymore. They no longer see it as a man's right to hit them.' The Community President of Vina Alta, Teodosio Orellana, commented:

Many women are now seeking public office, more than ever...in every block, women's involvement has increased...They assume the role of social workers.

A 1998 National Seminar organized in La Paz, Bolivia, by UNESCO, presented the results of a 'National Expectations Survey.' This survey was carried by CETHA-QCORPA through a series of seminars, in which students and educational stakeholders in eight provinces and three rural zones were asked what their expectations were for a Bolivia that was moving towards renewal (Dasso and Montano, 1991).

The themes were wide-ranging and included political formation and the flourishing of culture within a context of social change. An analysis of popular education materials from the same seminar revealed a high popularity of pamphlets, but a variety of other educational mediums including manuals, guides, magazines, posters, picture cards, videos and educational games. There was a tendency to include local multidisciplinary teams in developing the materials. The process of materials development allowed for the incorporation of literacy expressions and typical narratives from native and local culture, the inclusion of play and humor, and themes determined to be highly motivating (Dasso and Montano, 1991).

Questions to ask about informal education strategies:

Is the content of the educational program attentive to the pressing concerns and perspectives of young people in their various community settings? Does the language of the materials present any obstacle for use in various regions?

Can teachers adapt the material in order to reflect the local culture and agendas? Is the methodology of instruction empowering for young people?

Does the program foster a genuine cooperation between the school and other agencies of influence in the community?

Can the school program be used as a means of outreach to parents and other family members?

3.2 Focus on Empowerment.

The popular education programs presented for women embody an empowerment component through the very process of their organization. Other programs developed in the region for both children and women, use a 'rights oriented' approach to encourage citizen action.

A Legal Education Program (Panama) was organized by Fundacion para la Promocion de la Mujer in cooperation with the National Institute for Citizen Education in the Law (NICEL)¹⁰ in the early 1990s. The school component was part of a concentrated public education effort that included community outreach to women (family rights) and the use of the mass media. As of 1993, 1500 high school students had been reached.

The youth education component was carried out in high schools through a voluntary legal advisor group made up of college students. The legal advisors were responsible for a 48-hour course that addressed content knowledge, attitudes and skill development in the areas of basic law, conflict resolution and gender roles. Exercises such as group work, dramatization, case studies, simulations and promoting self-esteem were included. The Foundation for the Promotion of Women, who organized the preparation of the legal advisors, mentioned the high level of commitment and enthusiasm on the part of the university students (Fundacion para la Promocion de la Mujer, 1996).

Human Rights Education (Costa Rica) has been the main mission of Instituto Interamericano de Derechos Humanos (IIDH), which has worked with half a dozen countries throughout Latin America in supporting formal and informal educational programming. Numerous non-governmental agencies throughout the region, in fact, have organized local efforts to educate about the existence and implication of the rights contained in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other U.N. documents.

¹⁰ NICEL was re-incorporated as Street Law, Inc. in 1997.

IIDH developed core didactical materials for integration into the school curriculum. The fourth edition of *Programa Centro de Recursos Educativos (CRE)* was issued in 1997. In addition to the Teacher's Guide, the material is divided into modules, which are thematically organized around: liberty, equality, solidarity and participation. Each module introduces philosophical, socio-historical and juridical information (Rodriguez, 1998). There is a series of engaging activities, involving an array of participatory methods. The units also include graphics, cartoons, folk tales, and poems from well-known Latin American artists.

The section on participation, for example, begins with a motivating cartoon by Quino, called "The organization." The cartoon shows a board room table, at which seven men in business attire are sitting. The man at the head of the table is shouting: 'Is it possible one just can't govern peacefully without having to deal with the annoying habit of people constantly trying to improve their lives?' It is expected that students will analyze the importance of participation and collective work, the use of resources, the value of critique, including self-criticism, and the division of labor (Rodriguez, 1998). The themes of the chapter move from participation as a simple action to participation as a treasured value; the guaranteed rights to assembly and association; the nature of participation in a democratic country; social and economic rights; and the process of democracy (IIDH, 1997).

Each module also has an accompanying, overarching student activity. The student activity for the participation unit is the organization of a student council. This project entails a research component (what is the current legislation governing school councils), the establishment of a council (including rules of governance), the carrying out of elections, and the implementation of programming (IIDH, 1997). Distribution of these materials are accompanied by teacher training, both of which have been carried out by IIDH in cooperation with Ministries of Education and Amnesty International national sections (Rodriguez, 1999).

'Los Cumiches' (Nicaragua) is a performance arts program run by and for young people. One component involves a radio programme, which invites listener contributions and investigative reporting. The programme has been transformative for some of the participating young people. A 13-year-old girl explained:

We like doing it and we learn about defending our rights -- it's not about becoming journalists; it's about learning to express ourselves better and understand the lives of other children. You get to know new places, and to talk to other kids about human rights. And our parents have treated us better since we got involved! (Green, 1998, p. 182).

4. Educator/Facilitator preparation and training

According to Dr. Villegas-Reimers, no country in Latin America offers a specialization in civics for teachers in training. Primary school teachers receive a general preparation in social studies. Often, the kind of pedagogical training they receive 'contradicts the values of democracy.' **Pre-service training** has not prepared teachers in the region 'to involve

students in activities such as conducting open discussions and debates, and organizing the classroom in a more democratic way' (Villegas-Reimers, 1994b, p. 22).

Both pre-service and **in-service training** programs need to be organized in ways that motivate and prepare teachers to offer citizenship education programs that reflect the qualities outlined in this monograph. As mentioned earlier, the most useful approach is to see teachers as beneficiaries and advocates for such a program, rather than transmission vehicles. The Organization of the Americas study of educational reform mentioned the importance of organizing trainings that guided and motivated teachers, encouraged innovation, and enabled them to work for the improvement of the educational process (OAS, 1998, p. 41).

Many variations on this model have been tried. Part of the promise of the Escuela Nueva approach is the degree to which teachers were encouraged to be reflexive professionals and integral decisionmakers in bottom-up policy formation and implementation (Mantilla, 1999, p. 7). This role began in the trainings, where teachers had a chance to experiment and modify the materials. This program also compiled a database of diverse learning activities, from which teachers could select those most relevant for his or her class. The self-paced learning paradigm that was central to the project actually served as an ongoing professional development experience for the teachers, who were required to cultivate their observation, investigative and listening skills in facilitating student use of the materials (OAS, 1998, pp. 45-46). Non-governmental and governmental agencies throughout the region are experienced in organizing in-service training programs for teachers that introduce them to new materials and instructional methods. Sometimes these programs have a reflective component. In cases where program implementation is dependent upon local administrative support, principals and Ministry personnel have also been involved in such workshops.

Materials used in in-service citizenship education training vary. The materials may consist of the core teaching materials, along with some explanations for their application. In some cases, stand-alone teacher guides are developed to address the goals and instructional methods for the program.

Training materials developed for community leaders by the Instituto Peruano de Educacion en Derechos Humanos y la Paz (Peruvian Institute for Human Rights and Peace -- IPEDEHP) illustrate the ways in which training for adults can engage them in a fuller process of self reflection, empowerment and skill development. IPEDEHP, which has been central to the development of the Peruvian Network for Education in Peace and Human Rights (comprised of 70 organizations), has trained over 13,000 teachers and 1,000 community leaders since 1996 (Bernbaum, 1999, p. 111).¹¹

The training program draws on the daily life of the participants and uses participatory methodology (games, dynamics, role plays, small discussion groups). Participants 'build their own concepts of human rights and democracy, using their own life experiences as a base.' This approach is in keeping with the Freire philosophy, where

¹¹ Information concerning IPEDEHP training was taken from the case study developed by Marcia Bernbaum, 1999.

The sharing of experiences should not be addressed in psychological terms only. It invariably requires a political and ideological analysis as well. That is, the sharing of experiences must always be understood within a social praxis that entails both reflection and political action (Freire and Macedo, 1998, p. 10).

The IPEDEHP training model is also strategic. The support of local NGOs and certain sectors of the Catholic Church are enlisted as counterparts in order to ensure that there will be community-based support available to participants after they complete their training. These counterparts also attend the training in order to ensure that they play an effective role in local follow-up.

The training program lasts for three days. The training course is divided into five modules: (1) introduction to the training and course expectations; (2) human rights; (3) democracy; (4) methodological principles for educating in human rights and democracy; and (5) planning for returning to their communities to replicate what they have learned. The training addresses content, methodology, skill development, but also affective elements ultimately related to core values (dignity, respect, equality, tolerance) and the self-esteem of the participants. There is an understanding that many of the participants have experienced violence in their own lives, and that the training may have a therapeutic element. As the training concludes, the focus is towards a practical application of the lessons learned to life in the community. IPEDEHP and cooperating local institutions maintain contact with the participants, offering them additional materials and enabling participants to subsequently meet and share their experiences.

The community-building element helps to ensure open communication, reciprocity of relationships, and a motivation to share what was learned in the training with others. A case study carried out by Dr. Marcia Bernbaum found profound impacts on the participants, their families, as well as the communities in which they lived. These impacts include increases in self-esteem, reductions in family violence and a sustained interest in applying what they had learned in the training. One social worker expressed:

I learned new techniques of presentation, motivation, relaxation, reflection. It helps give me tools to get closer to the people I train. One can also take these techniques and adapt from for use in other areas such as leadership and organizational development.

A lawyer who participated in the human rights training said:

I now understand the need to listen to what others have to say so that I can learn from them. Before, when I gave training courses in human rights, I had a tendency to lecture and the participants got bored. The course has also helped me to understand my daughters better, to appreciate that they are human (Bernbaum, 1999, p. 49).

Each teacher brings unique personality to the citizenship education process. Just as a master teacher cannot be created by formula, the same is true for an exemplary teacher of democratic citizenship. Yet, certain of these virtues can be reinforced in principled training and materials.

[F]airness in the educator is very important...not saying I'm going to be objective, but rather what subjectives am I using. Which for the listener is a way of telling him I'm not betraying you, I'm not cheating, concealing the values in which I really believe or the actions I really do (Floria, 1996, p. 3).

A simple element to bear in mind regarding educator preparation is that the humanization process begins in the training itself. One cannot 'dictate' democratic values and skills. Unless democratic environments of learning are supported in the pre-service and in-service education of teachers, there is little chance that such environments will be fostered in the classroom. The most important challenge for civic education is to broaden and strengthen training programs for educators even in the absence of clear examples of successful efforts.

Questions to ask about training:

Are in-service teacher training programs systematically integrated with follow-up support and opportunities for sharing at the local level?

Do the preparation and in-service training programs incorporate not only an introduction to the teaching materials, but an exploration of experiences, attitudes and values that will influence a teacher's position towards democratic styles of teaching?

Do the preparation and the in-service teacher training programs contain elements addressing content knowledge, instructional methodologies, and planning for the future? Is the approach an egalitarian one between the trainers and the participants?

Are the training programs being evaluated? (See also Section VI.)

Is every effort being made to include training for democratic education in the pre-service preparation of teachers?

IV. LESSONS LEARNED FOR CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION IN LATIN AMERICA

Principles clearly exist to guide us in program development in the field of citizenship education in Latin America. Some of this information is constituted in empirical research; other evidence comes from our professional assessment of good design. Many of these criteria were operationalized through the “questions to ask” contained in the previous section. Here, in Section IV, we present a summary and further elaboration of what does and does not appear to work in citizenship education. These lessons are necessarily presented as generalities; in each case, a decision has to be made about what is most appropriate and realistic for the given country context.

2. What Works in Overall Program Design?

- Clear goals need to be set for any citizenship education program, and include references to knowledge, skills and values. The development of the learner under the skillful guidance of the teacher should be presented as the central modality for learning.
- Central agencies should cooperate with district and local organizations, including governmental, non-governmental and religious organizations, in designing and implementing programs that are relevant and motivating for local populations. Many social justice organizations are suitable partners for such programming. This has been a useful model in civic education programs in a variety of countries (see chapters on Belgium and Canada in Torney-Purta, Schwille, and Amadeo, 1999).
- Any single or uniform approach in citizenship education should be avoided. A core set of outcomes for students that promote democratic culture in the classroom should be endorsed.
- In moving away from an “inputs-based” approach to education to one focusing on learner outcomes, achievement through evaluation and assessment techniques can be monitored. These need to be appropriate for the level of program implementation and the audience.
- The more vulnerable populations in rural and urban poor areas should be given careful attention. In these circumstances, citizenship education might be linked with other, high priority educational agendas, such as literacy, health education, and community involvement. A recent evaluation of such programs in Latin America does exist and bears important lessons.
- In general, it is desirable to develop citizenship education programs that foster community involvement and, in fact, seek to address community development.

- It is essential to pay attention to the needs of teachers. Any citizenship education program that is to be successful in the long run will motivate “teachers as learners” and will give them valuable professional development tools. To this end, well-designed training experiences are essential, and those organized at the pre-service level are especially important.
- Ideally, central agencies will foster “networks of learning” among educators participating in national citizenship education programs. These networks could be informal study groups or more formal professional associations that meet and share information periodically.
- Overall educational achievement is related to the support of democratic values, political participation, voting behavior and being politically informed in society as a whole. Attention to the matters of guaranteeing quality education in Latin America, and reducing grade repetition and the school-leaving rate will also strengthen the development of democratic culture on the continent (and vice versa).

2. What Works in Terms of Program Content?

- Whenever possible, civics should be a required separate subject in the curriculum. In addition, themes and activities related to democracy, critical thinking, debate, conflict resolution, tolerance-building, moral development, and citizenship participation can be included in other subjects and extracurricular activities. In-depth project work is also a desirable vehicle for work in and outside the classroom.
- A variety of learning materials, including non-text sources, help to enhance opportunities for learning, and also better accommodate the diverse learning styles of pupils. The materials should “stimulate innovation, not condition practice” (McGinn, 1996, p.13).
- Central to the promotion of democratic culture in the classroom are discussion-oriented methodologies. These methodologies should be central to any teacher education program and be built explicitly into materials.
- In constructing models for these programs, resource designers should consult teachers. If there are sensitive political issues involved, it is best if these can be addressed, rather than ignored.
- An effective citizenship education program will recognize that the professional development of the teacher is a precondition for success. Teachers’ learning can be incorporated through educational programs, materials, follow-up support, opportunities for advancement, and recognition.

3. What Does Not Work in Overall Program Design?

- A single civics textbook, especially one that is poorly adapted for some regions of the country, is unlikely to meet the diverse needs of the student and teacher

populations. Textbook authorization policies on the parts of Ministries of Education may need to be examined in this regard.

- A citizenship education program cannot be constituted solely through the development of a textbook, even a good one. Goals for a national citizenship education program must extend beyond short-term materials development to include attention to the informal education environment and the implicit messages about society and power, which students see in the classroom and school.
- Short-term investments in citizenship education activities, regardless of design, may not result in sustainable programs.
- Failure to link up the citizenship education agenda and strategies with other reform agendas and innovations will limit program effectiveness and long-term sustainability.

4. What Does Not Work in Terms of Program Content?

- Traditional, lecture approaches to civic education, rote memorization, or highly abstract approaches are unlikely to develop attitudes and skills related to democratic culture. In fact, these approaches can be alienating to young people and work against their engagement in political affairs, and the civic education process.
- On the other hand, a pure focus on values or methodological innovation will not necessarily result in the desired learner outcomes. Values-oriented approaches and participatory methodologies should always be balanced with knowledge and understanding about concrete political processes and issues.
- Failure to link education with local community issues, or to allow for active engagement in a school or community approach, are unlikely to have maximal effectiveness.

If taken into consideration, these and other lessons incorporated into the monograph should lead to thoughtful design programs that have a genuine chance of success. In the final section of the monograph, we present possible next steps and evaluation measures that can be addressed in the initial phase of program design.

V. GUIDELINES FOR INITIATING AND MEASURING PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT

*There will be a day in which everyone
As they look up
Will see a land
Where there is liberty*

-Jose Antonio Labordeta, Spanish songwriter

In the previous sections we have presented a framework for promoting national programming in citizenship education, based on international research and the evidence we could obtain of good practice in the region. These examples are spread across a number (but not all) of the countries in Latin America. Integrated throughout the program component section were questions to consider when reviewing or conceptualizing specific aspects of a national program. In Section IV, we summarized some lessons learned from previous efforts in the region.

In Section V, we would like to suggest some possible next steps in setting up a program, including the initiation of assessment and evaluation techniques for determining program success.

A. Suggested Next Steps

5. Examine research from Latin America and abroad in order to ascertain general directions or principles of good practice in the citizenship education field. This monograph is one step in this direction. Other useful resources are included in the Appendix to this report.
6. Commission an independent study to further examine work already in progress in several countries. This study would document:
 - agencies that are active
 - approaches being used
 - evidence of success
 - special conditions or needs for establishing a national or regional program.

One possible structure to begin this process would be the case study framing questions used by the IEA Civic Education Project (Torney-Purta, Schwille, and Amadeo, 1999).

7. Establish a process for developing a national concept concerning the role of education in a democratic society, and what should constitute education for democratic citizenship. Several reformers in the region (Cerreño and Pyle, 1996; OAS, 1998) have recommended this activity. This conceptualization process should involve all key stakeholders and would ideally be viewed as a non-partisan effort.

Within this process to develop a national conception of citizenship, one should bear in mind that “it is utterly essential for local power to have a role in reshaping school programs, school functions and teachers’ rights and responsibilities” (Britton, 1994, p. 114). Moreover, a national conception of citizenship should be flexible enough to incorporate local social, economic, political and cultural distinctions (Oliver, 1986).

8. Based on the results of the above steps, commission key agencies to implement model programs and then extend them more widely. Some of the questions and criteria included throughout the monograph may serve to structure a more in-depth analysis of the goals and qualifications of specific programs.

We would like to offer additional, more specific suggestions for the design and implementation stage:

- 8.1. Look for opportunities to finance and duplicate locally administered micro-regional programs that demonstrate success, and link them with support from regional research and information and dissemination networks (Farrell, 1997, p. 10).
- 8.2. Use the aforementioned steps as the basis of a closer cooperation between the Ministry of Education and the non-governmental sector (Villegas-Reimers, 1994b, p. 39).
- 8.3. Organize a shift from an emphasis on examining educational inputs to outputs, such as learning outcomes (OAS, 1998, p. 38).
- 8.4. Employ a definition of equity that involves the ‘provision of homogenous education in national terms to equity defined as an education sensitive to differences that discriminate in favor of the most vulnerable groups’ (OAS, 1998, p. 38).
- 8.5. Seek ways for government and multi-national organizations to coordinate policies and create mechanisms to exchange successful strategies and models (OAS, 1998, p. 37).
- 8.6. Build in the evaluation of program implementation and of outcomes.

B. Evaluation Guidelines

In a recent volume on evaluation and policy, Alvarez and Chesterfield (1998) conclude that the following evaluation trends are especially current in Latin America:

- measurement of academic achievement (especially in ways that can inform strategic interventions);
- definition of educational quality (especially those which take into account the network of social interactions in a community of learning);
- value-added approaches; and
- teacher performance (especially in relation to reform efforts).

They also discuss involvement in evaluation consortia, including those of organizations such as IEA, the building of local capacity for evaluation, and attention to ways of

improving the use of evaluation information. In addition, Kellaghan (1998) lays out a plan for establishing national assessments of education progress in Latin American countries (although civics is not mentioned). One of the foci of future efforts might be to strengthen evaluation systems in general, and to pay special attention to the inclusion of topics related to education for democracy.

Citizenship education programs that are designed for local variability will rely on well executed assessments in order to determine if the programs are meeting their intended goals. A whole body of literature exists on techniques for program evaluation and assessment, which is relevant for the citizenship education field. We include here some suggestions for areas for documentation, but not the data collection methods or instruments themselves.

We assume that interested parties can consult other sources for information concerning qualitative and quantitative measures of assessment, including techniques for case studies, self-assessment tools, classroom culture, questioning techniques, performance-based assessments, content-oriented or achievement tests, attitude questionnaires, and standard program evaluation. We have divided the assessment tasks into three areas: program implementation, program content, and student achievement. (Teacher assessment is not included.) We have presented what we consider to be core questions to explore for each of these areas.

- ***Program Implementation***

- Have the anticipated activities taken place as originally foreseen?
- Is the program having wide reach, particularly to underserved areas?
- Is the program flexible enough to be adapted to regional variations?
- Does the program have political support from key educational authorities?
- Does the program support other, key goals for educational reform, and vice versa?
- Does the program seek to reduce “quality differentials” between primary schools? (Puryear, 1996, p. 8)
- Does the program include a professional development element through the materials, in-service training and support networks?
- Is the program seen as exciting and innovative? Are the teachers enthusiastic and are they adapting the program to their classroom needs?
- Does the program engage students in their communities and, in turn, are community leaders engaged in the program?
- Is the program sustainable? Is there a commitment from national policymakers to retain citizenship education programming in the national curriculum and to make resource commitments to this end? Have policymakers found ways to sustain civic programming by linking with other agendas, without diluting the central goals of the effort?
- Is there evidence of a “multiplier effect” at the regional and local levels, as shown through increasing numbers of teacher trainers and spin-off programming?
- Are there mechanisms for providing regular feedback on the systemic implementation of the program?

- ***Program Quality***

- Is there a diversity of materials available to educators for implementing citizenship education programming in the classroom?
- Do teachers receive appropriate and sufficient preparation and training? Is someone servicing teachers' questions and needs?
- Do the textbooks promote open discussion on motivating and essential issues?
- Are the lessons designed in such a way that individualized teaching models can be used?
- Are classroom processes assessed? Is student participation high? Is group work used?
- Are students allowed to make (non-trivial) decisions?
- Is it possible for students to have various interpretations or analyses of important topics?
- Are students given the opportunity to become engaged in their communities?
- Are teachers able to assess student work, as necessary?
- Do students and teachers consider the program to be interesting and important?
- Are there mechanisms for learning "what works" and "what does not work" and are there ways for the program to be improved?

- ***Student Achievement***

- Is student achievement being documented in ways that are consistent with the learning goals of the educational program (skills as well as content)?
- Have teachers been given the tools to assess what students learn in their civic classroom?
- Does the educational system have ways to assess student achievement that reinforce the multi-dimensional nature of civic learning?
- Are methods of student assessment supportive of, neutral towards, or counter to the approach of the citizenship education program?
- Has it been possible to sponsor or promote independent research on the impact of the program on its target audiences?

In Conclusion.

Many of the promising experiences from Latin America and abroad reinforce a simple maxim: encourage authentic dialogue between the educator and learner about their social and political worlds. Well-designed national and local programming, carried out conscientiously by educators and realized in the students' learning process, can contribute in a cumulative, critical way to the development of a national democratic culture.

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Sede Académica FLASCO –Argentina
Ayacucho 551
1026 Buenos Aires, Argentina
(tel) 541 375 2435 (fax) 541 375 1373 (e-mail) flasco@wamani.apc.org

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Instituto de Genero, Derecho y Desarrollo
Juan José Paso 652
Rosario 2000 Argentina
(tel/fax) 54 41 370874 (e-mail) insgenar@tau.wamani.apc.org

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Corporacion Participa
Sede Central
Almirante Simpson 014
Santiago, Chile
(tel) 562 2225384 (fax) 562 2221374 (e-mail) mijmenez@mailnet.rdc.cl

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Instituto Interamericano de Derechos Humanos (IIDH)
Apartado Postal 10081
1000 San Jose, Costa Rica
(tel) (506) 234-0404, 234-0405 (fax) (506) 234-0955

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*Derecho de Familia, Separación de Cuerpos y Divorcio, y Guía Metodológica
Derecho Laboral, y Guía Metodológica
Programa de Radio, La Acción Tomar*

Fundacion para la Promocion de la Mujer
Apartado 8926
Zona 5
Ciudad de Panama, Panama
(tel) 507 62-1800 (fax) 507 62-1855

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“La Educacion en Derechos Humanos y en Democracia” (booklet)
“Derechos Humanos y Democracia como Contenido Transversal” (booklet)
“Construyendo Democracia Desde la Formacion Magisterial”

Instituto Peruano de Educación en Derechos Humanos y la Paz (IPEDEHP)
Santa Domingo 144, Jesús María
Lima 11, Peru
(tel) 463-3064; 460-6759 (e-mail) ipedeHP@amauta.rcp.net.pe

“Detengamos el Maltrato Infantil”
“Camino a la Tolerancia”
Red Peruana de Educación en Derechos Humanos y la Paz
Santa Domingo 144, Jesús María

Lima 11 Peru
(tel) 463-3064; 460-6759

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